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its resources and wealth by comparison with Japan's. Consequently there is the implication that Japan would show wisdom by refraining from thoughts of war and by changing to a conciliatory policy in respect to the nations of Eastern Asia.

Japan's militarism and intense nationalism, however, are serious hindrances in the author's opinion to a *volte face* on Japan's part, and he seems to feel that her statesmen are prepared to risk all on the hazard of war, rather than to surrender the economic grip Japan has secured in China and other parts of Eastern Asia.

The book as a whole is well written and should prove of great aid at this time to the general public, through its presentation in brief and graphic form of the present strained situation between Japan and the United States.

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Zionism and World Politics. By HORACE M. KALLEN, Ph.D.
Garden City, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921, xii,
345 pp.

The place of the Jews in international affairs has been, in one form or another, an international problem for the last three thousand years. Since 1880 it has been particularly significant, on account of the progress of Anti-Semitism in Continental Europe. As an escape from, and a compensation for, various types of persecution, reaching their most horrible form in the Russian *pogroms*, Jewish leaders began to revive the old hope of migrating to Palestine and there reestablishing a Hebrew state, in which the Jews could be free from the miseries which they suffered as inhabitants of Gentile states. Naturally, this proposal met with widely diverse response from the Jews of the western world. The orthodox, for the most part hailed it as an almost eschatological vision of salvation, while the reformist element looked upon it as simply one more obstacle to their program of assimilating the Jew to Gentile civilization. During the World War the Jews suffered terribly in central and eastern Europe, not only as soldiers in the armies, but also as a result of savage massacres of Jewish civilians. After the war was over in this region, there occurred a revival of Anti-Semitism on an unprecedented scale, bringing with it wholesale slaughter of the Jews. This wave of opposition to the Jews for the first time found its way in an articulate fashion into England and the United States. In these countries it had for the core of the propaganda the publication

of the forged "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" by the London *Morning Post*, and the anti-Jewish onslaughts of Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*. It was but natural that this recrudescence of Anti-Semitism should be answered by a strong revival of Zionism, which at this time claimed as supporters many influential members of the reformist groups, a large number from America. In the meantime the Allied Powers executed their promise to restore Palestine to the Jews, by providing in the Treaty of April 25, 1920, for the Jewish occupation and restoration of Palestine under a British mandate. The progress of the Jews in reclaiming Palestine will probably constitute one of the most interesting phases of the Near Eastern Problem in its post-war setting.

In view of the importance and timeliness of the Jewish problem and Zionism, it was especially desirable that an impartial and authoritative work should be produced on the subject, which would analyze it in both its historical aspects and in its bearing upon international relations. In the work by Professor Kallen, under review, we have an admirable fulfilment of this aspiration. A student of philosophy and international relations of more than national reputation and long intimately familiar with various aspects of the Zionist project, he has produced one of the most brilliant of recent contributions to the field of cultural history and international affairs.

The book treats of the history of the Jewish problem since the *Diaspora*, but devotes the major part of the space to the period since 1890. The various Jewish proposals which have gone under the collective name of "Zionism" are carefully analyzed and the viewpoints of the various groups are ably and fairly indicated. Especially valuable to the student of international relations are the chapters dealing with the effect of the late World War upon the Jews, the place of Palestine in the complexities of modern post-war imperialism in the Near East, and the requirements of the new economic and social order which must be established in Palestine if the Zionist project is to prove a success.

While Professor Kallen is in full sympathy with Zionism as one of the methods and avenues for a constructive and rational solution of the Jewish problem, he is not an obsessed partisan, and he makes it clear that the Jews must realize the extent of the labor and sacrifice involved, if they are to do anything beyond making themselves the laughing-stock of the world in their activities in Palestine. He feels that a successful Zionist experi-

ment would do much to improve the condition of the Jews in the areas of persecution, who would migrate, and would also make easier the lot of those dwelling in more tolerant Gentile countries. But he believes, quite correctly, that the magnitude of the task is not sufficiently recognized by the majority of the Jews outside of America, and fears lest either indifference or unjustified optimism, or both, will wreck the whole project. If it does, he foresees the extinction of the Jews and Jewish culture through massacres and enforced conversion in the regions of central and eastern Europe and through assimilation in western Europe and America. As to the relation of Zionism to reformism among the Jews, Professor Kallen sees no cause for alarm on the part of the reformists. Their program is more likely to be advanced than retarded by Zionism. All in all, it is a book which no Jew can afford to ignore, and which should be read by all Gentiles at all interested in the field of international relations. Inasmuch as Professor Kallen interprets the Jewish problem in its relation to cultural and economic history, the book is well worth perusal by students of those subjects, irrespective of whether they are interested in the Zionist program.

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A Monograph on Plebiscites, with a Collection of Official Documents.

By SARAH WAMBAUGH. Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law. New York, Oxford University Press, 1920, xxxv, 1088 pp.

This monograph contains a study of the practice and theory of plebiscites, covering some 200 pages, and some 900 pages of very useful documentary material. The documents are given in the original and in translation in parallel columns. There is also a bibliographical list of works on the subject of plebiscites. The bibliography omits, however, a number of significant titles, such as Borgeaud, Freudenthal and Soliere.

The writer discusses in some detail the plebiscites growing out of the French Revolution, those arising in connection with the problem of Italian nationality, and more recent cases of which the most notable is the separation of Norway from Sweden. The American experience in the period of Secession is not included in the discussion, nor does the monograph purport to include the plebiscites under the treaty of Versailles. National referendums